582 done this (see b - First wife), so that twice as many first
587 marriages (29) were with kalə yaskəs than with zogors (14).
565 On the other hand, in the many subsequent marriages into which
554 the members of this sample entered (see c - All previous wives),
463 many more were with zogors (200) than with kalə yaskəs (80).
It is evident that talaka and low status individuals tend overwhelmingly to marry zogors after their initial first marriage since of subsequent marriages only two were with kalə yaskəs, while eighty-one were with zogors. On the other hand, the four upper categories tend to marry kalə yaskəs more frequently than [792] zogors. This is particularly striking for the category of Koranic Malams, all of whose ten marriages have been with kalə [163] yaskəs. This is significant because, as will be noted below, the Koranic Malams are blessed with many children while other people have relatively few.

593 Table IX presents data on the seclusion of wives. The
562
565
554
463

Table IX

Whether wife is secluded (kule)

	kule	partly kule	not kule
Aristocracy	4	1	-
Koranic malams	2	1	-
Canteen Traders	6	-	-
NA Malams	6	-	-
Kabuna	1	1	3
Craftsmen	-	-	6
Talaka	1	-	6
Low-status	-	-	3
Totals:	20	3	18

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586 565 554 463 vorces than have other groups. In turn, the talaka have had more numerous divorces. There is a distinct tendency for the lower categories in the table, who marry overwhelmingly with zogors, as noted above, to marry and divorce more frequently than the upper categories (canteen traders and NA Malams), and in fact the Koranic Malams who marry only kalo yaskas have the lowest divorce rate.

3. Family and Household.

• 163 The number of living children of each of the individuals in the sample is presented in Table XI. In all, 44 adult Ka-

Table XIa

Number of Living Children

163 565 554 463

	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Aristocracy	1	2	2						
Koranic Malams			1			1			1
Canteen Traders	1	1		2	2				
NA Malams	1	3	1	1					
Kabuna	4	1		1					
Craftsmen	4	1	1						
Talaka	7				1				
Low-status	1	2							
Totals:	19	10	5	4	3	1	-	-	1

Table XIb

Cases of Children Given Away

Aristocracy	2:	to FaYoBr after weaning to FaElSi after weaning	597 565
Koranic Malams	1:	to MoMo after weaning	554
Canteen Traders	1:	to cousin after weaning	463
NA Malams	1:	to FaElBr (chibuna) after weaning	
Kabuna	-		
Craftsmen	1:	to neighbor (chibuna) after weaning	
Talaka	1:	to FaMo at age 4	
Low-status	1:	to chibuna at age 11	
	8		

median number of children= .75

mean number of children=1.33

nuri men in this sample have 57 living children. One hundred and eight children had been born to the group, but 51 of these have died. Because of the exceptionally high infant mortality rate, children are greatly desired and prized. In addition to malaria, which is the greatest killer of infants, an extremely high rate of venereal disease is present in Bornu, and a high percentage of those infected are sterile and unable to bear children. One factor in spreading venereal disease is the high divorce rate. Frequent divorce and remarriage spreads the disease throughout the population, and results in many sterile individuals who desperately want children. In their desire for children, they divorce and remarry, thus spreading the disease still further. In particular, if they marry a zogor they are

In particular, if they marry a zogor they are
586 less likely to have children than if they marry a kalə yaskə.
164
163 This probably accounts for the high birth rate among the Ko-
[192] ranic Malams (one has eight children; one has five); they
have all married kalə yaskəs, so that neither they or their
[565] wives are likely to be infected. On the other hand, in the
[463] lower categories (kabuna, craftsmen, talaka) a majority of
[634] the individuals have had no children at all. Seven of the
eight talaka have no living children. This is the group with
the highest divorce rate, and when they remarry they invari-
ably marry zogors (see Table VIII) so that the chances are
high that either husband or wife will be infected and sterile.

597 Table XIb reveals that eight of the 57 children who sur-
842 vived were given away, and grew up in the household of another
602 family. At first, this seems difficult to reconcile with the
great love for children and desire to have children. How-
ever, those who have borne a child have indicated their abil-
ity to bear others. Children are frequently given to relatives
who have no children of their own, and who are probably un-
able to bear children but want a child badly. It may be seen
that children are given away to siblings of the parent, to
the child's grandparent, or to the chibuna after whom the
child has been named. Six of the eight were given immediate-
ly after the child was weaned; two were given away at later
ages. Giving of children at later ages is related to frequent
divorce. Since the child belongs to the father, he may send
the child to his mother or father should he, the father, not
have an adequate home at the time.